

## Message Text

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11

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 NIC-01 SAJ-01 CU-04 NSCE-00 SR-02 OMB-01

ACDA-19 NEA-10 DRC-01 /170 W  
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P R 190815Z DEC 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9040

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN\*

CINCPAC HONOLUL HI

FBIS OKIN WA

CHMAAG CHINA

COMUSTDC

CDR USARFT TA\*ZEI

327 AIRDI\* TAIPEI AS

374 TAW CCKAB TAIWAN/DOI

CINCUSARPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L 6SECTION 1 OF 2 HONG KONG 12744

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

CINCUSARPAC FOR GPIN-TP

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PINT PFOR CH

SUBJ: WEEKLY REVIEW OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA NO. 51

POUCHED: BUCHAREST, BUDAPEST, JAKARTA, ISLAMABAD, KUALA LUMPUR,  
MANILA, NEW DELHI, PHNOM PENH, RANGOON, ROME, SAIGON,  
SEOUL, VIENTIANE, USNATO, USMISSION GENEVA DISTO, 13AF MANILA,  
7TH PSYOP GP OKINAWA, CO AUG 7TH PSYOP GP TAIWAN

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BEGIN SUMMARY. IN PRC DOMESTIC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS  
THERE IS SOME SUGGESTION OF A TREND TOWARD COMING TO GRIPS WITH  
PROBLEMS HOLDING UP THE CONVENING OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S  
CONGRESS. AS ASSERTION OF THE MODERATE POSITION SEEMS MORE IN  
EVIDENCE IN THE DECEMBER ISSUE OF RED FLAG, BUT THE VIEWS OF THE  
RADICAL LEFT, AND SIGNS OF POLITICAL CONTENTIOUSNESS, CONTINUE  
TO TURN UP. IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, RALLIES SUPPORTING THE SOUTH  
KOREAN STUDENTS CAPPED OFF AN INTENSIVE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WHICH  
SHOWED CLOSE SUPPORT FOR NORTH KOREA FOLLOWING THE UN COMPROMISE  
WITHOUT TOUCHING MORE SENSITIVE AREAS. SINO-SOVIET POLEMICS  
CONTINUED UNABATED AND FOCUSED ON ALLEGED SOVIET SUPPORT FOR  
"TWO CHINAS" AND PROVOCATIVE STATEMENTS BY THE PRC AMBASSADOR TO  
JAPAN. NCNA HAS REPORTED BOTH THE UPCOMING SECRETARY KISSINGER-  
LE DUC THO MEETING AND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST,  
BUT NOT COMMENTED SUBSTANTIVELY ON EITHER. END SUMMARY.

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1. DOMESTIC POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PRC DOMESTIC AFFAIRS COULD  
INDICATE CONCERTED EFFORTS TOWARD RESOLVING PROBLEMS HOLDING UP  
THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (HONG KONG 12593). THESE DEVELOP-  
MENTS WOULD INCLUDE SIGNS OF SOME GIVE ON THE ISSUE OF MILITIA  
POLICY (WR 49), POSSIBLE MOVES TO PUT THE SUPPOSED DISAGREEMENT  
BETWEEN PREMIER CHOU AND CHIANG CHING (MRS. MAO) IN A COMRADE\*

PERSPECTIVE, AND TENUOUS INDICATIONS OF TOP LEVEL CONSULTATIONS (WR 50). DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WEEK ADD TO THIS SEMBLANCE OF A TREND. HOWEVER THE PICTURE IS MIXED AND EVIDENCE OF POLITICAL CONTENTIOUSNESS CONTINUES TO TURN UP.  
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## 2. REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

THE INSTITUTION OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES (RC) HAS APPARENTLY BEEN RAISED TO THE IDEOLOGICAL SANCTITY OF "NEWLY-EMERGED THINGS" OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THIS IS INDICATED IN RECENT PRC DOMESTIC MEDIA ITEMS WHICH REFER TO THE RC IN THOSE TERMS FOR THE FIRST TIME. EARLIER, THERE HAD BEEN SIGNS THAT THE RC MIGHT

BE DONE AWAY WITH. A DETERMINATION TO RETAIN THE INSTITUTION WAS SIGNALLED IN SPEECHES AT THE AUGUST PARTY CONGRESS, ALTHOUGH CONTINUING APPREHENSION FOR A DIVISION IMPETITION OVER AUTHORITY

BETWEEN THE RC AND THE PARTY WAS ALSO EVINCED. AS "NEWLY-EMERGED THINGS" OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION ARE SUPPOSED TO BE DEFENDED AND NOT ATTACKED, THE NEW STATUS FOR THE RC PRESUMABLY PUTS A CURB ON FURTHER DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ABOUT ITS FUTURE, AND MAY SHOW PROGRESS TOWARD SETTling THIS QUESTION AS AN AGENDA ITEM FOR THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (HONG KONG 12577).  
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## 3. MILITIA

THOUGH THERE HAS BEEN SOME GIVE ON THE MILITIA CONTROVERSY, MODERATES ARE APPARENTLY DETERMINED NOT TO BE INTIMIDATED BY SHANGHAI'S ATTACK ON "SOME PEOPLE" WHO WOULD MAKE PRODUCTION THE MILITIA'S "CENTRAL TASK" (WR 45). A DECEMBER 13 PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE DEFENDED PEKING'S MILITIAMEN AS "WORKING HARD" ON THE  
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INDUSTRIAL FRONT AND "MAKING IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO FULFILLING OR OVERFULFILLING STATE PRODUCTION TASKS." THIS APPROACH CONTRASTS WITH THAT TAKEN BY THE CENTER IN LAST SEPTEMBER'S JOINT EDITORIAL ON MILITIA, WHICH EMPHASIZED MILITARY TRAINING AND RATED THE MILITIA'S "CLASS STRUGGLE" ROLE AHEAD OF ITS NEED

TO "STRUGGLE FOR PRODUCTION." THE CHANGED STRESS POINTS TO A RECENT GAIN IN MODERATE STRENGTH, A SHARPENED NEED TO ANSWER LEFTIST ATTACKS HEAD-ON, OR BOTH.  
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## 4. MODERATE VIEW APPEARS IN RED FLAG

THE LATEST RED FLAG HAS ARTICLES THAT TOGETHER SUGGEST THE MODERATE POSITION IN THE CURRENT PRC DOMESTIC CONTROVERSY. THE

ARTICLES ADVOCATE OPPOSING TIDES IN A DISCIPLINED MANNER (WR 50),  
DEFENSIVELY EXTOLL THE PROGRESS MADE THUS FAR ON THE EDUCATIONAL  
FRONT, PRAISE THE "REVOLUTIONARY SENIORITY" OF OLDER CADRE, AND  
WARN THOSE WHO WOULD ADVOCATE USING VIOLENCE, RATHER THAN REASON,  
TO SOLVE CHINA'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS. ONE PASSAGE EVEN HINTS ITS  
OPPOSITION TO NAMING WANG HUNG-WEN CHIEF OF STATE (HONG KONG 12578).  
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5. A VIEW FROM THE LEFT

WITH THE DECEMBER ISSUE OF RED FLAG SEEMINGLY AIRING THE MODERATE  
POSITION ON PRC DOMESTIC POLITICS, THE NOVEMBER ISSUE OF SHANGHAI'S  
NEW POLITICAL JOURNAL CONVEYS THE IMPRESSION THAT THE RADICAL  
LEFT TSS FELT PERSECUTED. FOCUSING ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND  
THE ROBESPIERRE FACTION, WHICH "HELD ACTUAL POWER AMONG THE  
JACOBINS," AN ARTICLE IN THE JOURNAL ARGUES THAT ROBESPIERRE  
DOOMED THE JACOBIN MOVEMENT WHEN HE STRUCK DOQV ITS LEFT WING AS  
WELL AS THE RIGHT. ANYONE WHO CRITICIZES "EXCESSIVE ACTIONS"  
IN A REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, THE ARTICLE ASSERTS, COULD BETRAY THE  
REVOLUTION. SUCH A PERSON "CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY" COULD  
BE "WHIPPING UP PUBLIC OPINION TO PREPARE FOR THE COUNTER-  
REVOLUTIONARY RESTORATION" (HONG KONG 12626). THE ARTICLE CALLS  
TO MIND THE FAILURE OF CHIANG CHING  
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ACDA-19 NEA-10 DRC-01 /170 W  
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P R 190815Z DEC 73  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9041  
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
USMISSION(USUN  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

FBIS OKINAWA  
CHMAAG CHINA  
COMUSTDC  
CDR USARFT TAIPEI  
327 AIRDIV TAIPEI AS  
374 TAW CCKAB TAIWAN/DOI  
CINCUSARPAC

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6. INTELLECTUAL SELF-CRITICISM  
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SCHOLAR FENG YU-LAN'S RECENT SELF-CRITICISM MAY NOT HAVE BEEN SPONTANEOUS ON HIS PART. THE PUBLICATION OF HIS SELF-CRITISAL ARTICLES IN EARLY DECEMBER WAS PRECEDED BY AN ATTACK ON ONE OF HIS BOOKS IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THE NOVEMBER ISSUE OF THE NEW SHANGHAI JOURNAL. THUS FAR NO OTHER INTELLECTUALS HAVE FOLLOWED FENG'S EXAMPLE, BUT INTELLIGENCE REPORTS SUGGEST THAT THE PRC'S MOST POLITICALLY PROMINENT AND ACTIVE SCHOLAR, KUO MO-JO, COULD BE IN SOME DIFFICULTY (HONG KONG 12517).  
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7. MASS POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
NCNA DECEMBER 13-14 REPORTED RALLIES BY WOMEN, STUDENT, AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, IN PEKING, SHANGHAI, AND OTHER CITIES IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE BY STUDENTS IN SOUTH KOREA (ITEM 8). THIS REFLECTS THE REVITATLIZATION OF MASS POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE PRC AND MARKS I\*S FIRST APPEARANCE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS SINCE THE REBUILDING OF THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS THIS YEAR. JUDGING FROM NCNA'S REPORTING OF THEM, THESE SPECIFIC EVENTS HAVE OFFICIAL APPROVAL. SUCH ACTIVITY BEARS WATCHING, OF COURSE. WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF HOW MASS ORGANIZATIONS ARE GUIDED FROM THE CENTER AT THIS TIME.  
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8. KOREA  
A SERIES OF MASS RALLIES ON DECEMBER 13 AND 14 AND A PEOPLE'S DAILY " COMMENTATOR" ARTICLE CAPPED AN INTENSIVE PRC PROPAGANDA EFFORT IN SUPPORT OF SOUTH KOREAN STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE "PAK CHUNG HI CLIQUE." THE MAIN THEMES WERE THE INIQUITY OF THE PARK GOVERNMENT AND ITS ALLEGED PLOT TO MAINTAIN THE DIVISION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH. THE CAMPAIGN APPEARED DESIGNED TO PLAY UP CHINESE SUPPORT OF NORTH KOREA AGAINST THE SOUTH TO SALVE PYONGYANG'S PRESUMED UNHAPPINESS OVER THE UN COMPROMISE ON THE

KOREAN QUESTION WITHOUT TOUCHING MORE VITAL ISSUES SUCH AS TENSION ON THE PENINSULA AND U.S. FORCES IN THE SOUTH. REPORTS OF NORTH KOREAN STATEMENTS ON THE TENSIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH WERE CARRIED BY NCNA ON DECEMBER 17 AND 18, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO PRC PUBLIC COMMENT.

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9. THE SOVIET UNION AND "TWO CHINAS"

NCNA (DECEMBER 14) ACCUSED THE SOVIET UNION OF SPREADING THE

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"FALLACY OF "TWO CHINAS"" IN ITS PROPAGANDA, CITING EXAMPLES FROM SOVIET MAGAZINES. NCNA SAID THESE ACTIONS SHOW HOW HOSTILE MOSCOW IS TO CHINA, BUT WROTE THEM OFF AS A "WASTE OF EFFORT." PEKING'S MAIN CONCERN APPEARED TO BE TO COUNTER REPEATED SOVIET CHARGES THAT IT HAS SOLD OUT ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE IN ORDER TO CURRY FAVOR WITH THE UNITED STATES. MOSCOW RADIO REPLIED ON DECEMBER 17 THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD ALWAYS HELD THAT TAIWAN WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF CHINA AND ACCUSED THE PRC OF THEMSELVES PROMOTING THE AMBIGUITY THROUGH THEIR STATEMENTS AND ATTEMPTING TO PIN THE BLAME ON THE SOVIET UNION. THEN, UNDER THE PRETEXT OF SHOWING THAT PEKING HAD OMITTED A REAFFIRMATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE, THE BROADCAST REPEATED ONE OF THE ANALOGIES WHICH HAD UPSET THE CHINESE--"ON THE CHINESE MAP, TAIWAN ISLAND LOOKS LIKE A LEAF FALLEN FROM A BIG TREE AND FLOATING ON THE PACIFIC OCEAN."

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10. THE SINO-SOVIET PROPAGANDA EXCHANGE TOOK ON A MORE PERSONAL TONE WHEN PRAVDA CHARGED ON DECEMBER 13 THAT PRC AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN CHEN CHU WAS TRYING TO "START A QUARREL BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF JAPAN AND THE FRIENDLY PEOPLE OF THE NEIGHBORING SOVIET UNION" BY HIS "SLANDEROUS STATEMENTS AGAINST THE

USSR." PRESUMABLY, CHEN'S PROVOCATIVE SPEECH ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE DURING A

DECEMBER 6 VISIT TO THE HOKKAIDO CITY OF NEMURO, ADJACENT TO THE DISPUTED ISLANDS, TRIGGERED THE SOVIET DENUNCIATION.

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11. VIETNAM

LE DUC THO STOPPED OVER IN PEKING DECEMBER 14 ON HIS WAY TO MEET WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER IN PARIS. WHILE THERE HE HELD "FRIENDLY AND CORDIAL" CONVERSATIONS WITH POLITBURO STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER CHAN CHUN-CHIAO, BUT HE DID NOT SEE CHOU EN-LAI AS HE HAS ON PAST STOPOVERS. NCNA DID NOT REPLAY THE HANOI NHAN DAN DECEMBER 14 " COMMENTATOR" ARTICLE ON THE MEETING, BUT IT DID CARRY EXCERPTS FROM PRC AND DRV STATEMENTS ON U.S. RECONNAISSANCE ACTIVITIES AND THE DECEMBER 15 PLANE INCIDENT. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

12. MIDDLE EAST

NCNA (DECEMBER\*17) CARRIED ITS FIRST REFERENCE TO THE GENEVA

PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT IN REPORTING THE  
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UN SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION ON THE ROLE TO BE PLAYED AT  
THE CONFERENCE BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL. THE ARTICLE QUOTED  
HUANG HUA'S RESTATEMENT OF PRC OPPOSITION TO ANY "ATTEMPT BY THE  
SUPERPOWERS TO MAKE BEHIND-THE-SCENES DEALS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE  
INTERESTS OF THE ARAB AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES." OTHER PRC  
RE\*ORTING ON THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN LARGELY LIMITED TO  
REPORTS OF MILITARY CLASHES AND EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR ARAB  
UNITY.

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#### 13. EUROPE

PEKING MEDIA GAVE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE TO EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS  
UNDERSCORING WEST EUROPE'S MISTRUST OF DETENTE WITH THE USSR,  
ITS GROWING UNITY AND ITS CONTINUING SOLIDARITY WITH THE U.S.  
NCNA (DECEMBER 12) REPORTED THAT AT THE NATO MINISTERIAL COUNCIL  
MEETING IN BRUSSELS, THE WEST EUROPEANS HAD STRESSED THAT WHILE  
THEY MUST STRENGTHEN THEIR OWN UNITY, THEY STILL HAVE " TO STAND  
TOGETHER WITH THE U.S. TO RESIST SOVIET MILITARY PRESSURE." THE  
ARTICLE NOTED THAT SOME "UNEASINESS" HAD BEEN EXPRESSED ABOUT  
U.S. FAILURE TO CONSULT ITS ALLIES BUT QUOTED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S  
REASSURANCES THAT "ATLANTIC UNITY IS STILL THE CORNERSTONE OF  
U.S. FOREIGN POLICY." THE THEME OF EXPANDING WEST EUROPEAN UNITY  
WAS ALSO HIGHLIGHTED IN NCNA'S DECEMBER 15 ACCOUNT OF THE EC  
SUMMIT CONFERENCE. THE SAME DAY NCNA HAPPILY REPORTED THAT THE  
SECOND STAG\* MEETING OF THE CSCE ADJOURNED, HAVING FAILED TO  
ACHIEVE ANY SUBSTANTIAL RESULT. THIS ARTICLE NOTED THAT THE  
U.S.\*AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD RESISTED SOVIET EFFORTS TO  
CONFIRM EASTERN EUROPE AS A SOVIET \*\*HERE OF INFLUE CE. IT  
CONCLUDE\* THAT THE CSCE HAD NOT BROUGHT SECURITY BUT THAT THE  
SITUATION IN EUROPE HAD IN FACT BECOME "MORE DANGEROUS."

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#### 14. NEPAL

KING BIRENDRA AND HIS ENTOURAGE DEPARTED CHINA DECEMBER 14  
FOLLOWING A VISIT WHICH APPEARED TO BE QUITE CORDIAL BUT SHORT  
ON SPECIFIC PRC COMMITMENTS ON INCREASED ECONOMIC AID (PEKING 1610).  
THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON DECEMBER 14 REAFFIRMED THE SUPPORT  
OF THE TWO SIDES FOR THIR\* WORLD STRUGGLES AND THEIR OPPOSITION  
TO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE OR HEGEMONISM. ON THE QUESTION OF PRC  
AID TO NEPAL, THE COMMUNIQUE NOTED THAT THE TWO SIDES WILL TAKE  
MEASURES FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION

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AND THAT THE PRC WOULD SEND A DELEGATION TO NEPAL FOR CONSULTATIONS  
TO THIS END.

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